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**OPPOSITION**

No PROOF of *K*

**PATRIOTISM:**

With some

**OBSERVATIONS**

AND

**ADVICE**

CONCERNING

**Party - Writings.**

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**L O N D O N :**

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NOTATION

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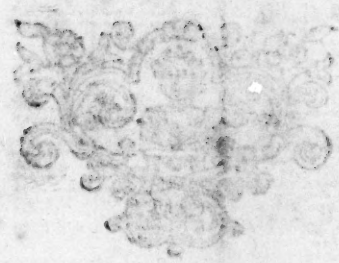
CONSTITUTIONS

AND

ADVICE

CONCERNING

Religion - Writings



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1851



# OPPOSITION

No PROOF of

## PATRIOTISM, &c.



WE have been long alarmed (I hope we are now tired) with terrible Representations of Men in Power, their Evil Designs and Mistakes, their Corruptions at Home, their Blunders Abroad; and publick Liberty, which is now stronger than ever it was in any Country or Age, has been lamented as almost expiring. The Ministers have been abused for every good Action which they did or attempted, and even for bad Actions which they neither attempted nor intended.

Such universal Condemnation was such an evident Mark of Ill-Will and Partiality, as could not escape our Notice and Censure. It was as little artful as it was decent or true. A cunning Calumniator will allow some good Qualities in the Object he abuses, on Purpose to be believed, when he charges him with bad



Qualities. But to condemn in the Lump, to make Men hideous and wicked without Allay, will ever and justly pass for *Revilin*; and a Reviler, when he is known to be such, forgoes the Success of his Trade; and it will then be seen, that Injustice and Misrepresentation are not Patriotism.

It could not but raise our Indignation to be told, that we were Slaves, whilst we could not but feel ourselves in Possession of the highest Liberty that ever People enjoyed. It could not but raise our Laughter, to hear those Ministers represented as Fools and Blunderers, who were continually defeating all the Efforts of such as so represent them. It could not but move our Contempt, to see the Government decried as impotent and hobling by some, who, tho' very able Men, could not in one Instance shake or change that same weak Government, which according to them was tumbling of itself.

They could not pretend that they had not fair Play, and full Room to exert all their Forces; the Press was open; their Tongues were free; and freely they used both. They might rail as loud as they pleased, inveigh without Controul; nor did they at all spare or bury such valuable Talents. Now what Advances have these dreadful Assailants made? What Advantages have they gained against a Ministry so powerfully attacked, so tottering, and so decried? Why they are both just where they were many Years ago; the Ministers nothing weaker, their Enemies nothing stronger.

All discerning Men know how natural it is, at least how common, for Men out of Place, to rail at those who are in. But if the People  
be



be well governed, it becomes them to support and wish well to such as so govern them. Can they recollect that ever they were better when others were in Place, even those who are now out? Had they then more Ease, fewer Taxes, or greater Liberty? Some who would make them sick of their present happy Condition, were their Governors when their Condition was not better, yet thought their Condition very good till they were out; and then, as their own was alter'd, so they seem'd to think that of the People.

How came it to pass, that till they were out or going out, every Thing was well, and from that Moment every Thing extremely ill, though all Things proceeded in the old Track, and nothing was changed but themselves? If they had any particular Grievance, any personal Pique or Disappointment, why should Offences, which were personal to them, prove Matter of Offence to the People, if the People were in no wise hurt (as certainly they were not) by what hurt only them?

If the Possession of Place influences Men, does not want of Place influence them as much? But this Truth, so glaringly evident, is never owned by those in whom it most evidently appears. Places, all Places, as soon as They go out of them, become presently, in their Style, dangerous, infectious, and even criminal. Yet the Moment before, whilst they themselves were in Place, they never once mentioned Places in that Style; nor do they ever confess, that when they were in Place, their Places had any undue Influences upon *Them*, tho' it is what they boldly charge upon  
all

all that remain in Place, or come into *their* Places.

Is not this apparent Mockery and Partiality? Is it not passionate and partial Judgment? Is it not pronouncing the very same Thing to be Guilt in others, which in themselves was Innocence, and determining Guilt and Innocence not from the Nature of Things, but from the Names and Persons of Men? By what Rule do they judge of others? And did they find themselves corrupted by Place and Preferment? If they did not, why may not others be as uncorrupt as they? And is it not notoriously selfish, as well as uncharitable, thus to set themselves above all other Men?

Places and Pensions are an old Cry. Can there be any Government without Places? And one of the greatest Malecontents and professed Patriots during the Reign of King *William* had a constant and annual Pension, whilst he was loudly railing at Pensions and Corruption. Many who then railed most against Pensions at Home, were shrewdly suspected of receiving Pensions from Abroad. Such a Profusion of *Lewidores* was seen in *England*, (no other Ways to be accounted for, than by Remittances to the *French* Ambassador here, for carrying on the Designs of *France* amongst us) that a Million of Guineas were coined out of them in so small a Space as six Months.

Many People think that there is an inherent Virtue in Opposition, nay, a Sort of Divinity in it; and are apt to treat such as are violent in it as something more than Men, without ever distinguishing between Opposition to unjust Measures, and Opposition to just as well

as

as unjust. Can there be a more unjust Thing than opposing Measures necessary to the Support and Being of a State ? And is not such Opposition destructive of Patriotism ?

I will be bold to say, that if the Opposition in King *William's* Reign had succeeded, instead of Liberty and the Revolution, we should have had King *James* and Popery again. I will be bold to say, that if all the Oppositions in the late Reigns had succeeded, instead of the present Illustrious *Protestant* House, we should have had the *Pretender* and his *Popish* Priests. I will be bold to say, that if the present Opposition had succeeded, at least universally, we should have been at the Mercy of a neighbouring Power, which has effectually shewn to all the World how ready it is to take Advantage of the Weakness of its Neighbours. This seems to me so plain, and I dare say appears so plain to some in the Opposition, (such is the good Opinion I have of them) that in Spight of all their Anger and overt Declarations, they are heartily glad that their Opposition has not succeeded, at least in every Instance. Sure I am, that in the above Instances, *Patriotism* was on the Side of the Government, and the *Opposition* repugnant to *Patriotism*.

It is ridiculous as well as dangerous to estimate the Virtue of Men by their Vigour or Eagerness in opposing a Ministry. The *best Ministers* have been often opposed by the *worst Men*; even bad Ministers have been opposed by Men as bad as themselves; and the worst Men have always cloathed their Opposition with the Cloak of publick Good, with Tendernefs and Compassion to the People, and a Zeal for relieving



lieving them by abolishing Taxes, and for securing and increasing their Privileges. But Ambition, which rarely owns its true Name, generally chuses that of *Patriotism*.

Famous is the Story in *Philip de Comines*, of the *War of the publick Good*, undertaken by the *Great Men of France*, avowedly for rescuing their Country from the Oppression of *Lewis the Eleventh*, a Prince who by his Tyranny gave sufficient Provocation to such a War, but had likewise Address enough to ward it off, not by lessening publick Burthens, not by relieving the People, not by removing Grievances, or abolishing Taxes, but by *gratifying the Great Men* (the *Patriots* of that Time) with great Places and Pensions; and these Great Men and Patriots were not ashamed, after all their Bustle, all their boasted Disinterestedness and publick Spirit, to leave the poor People (who had idolized them) to groan under the Rod of that fell Tyrant.

*John*, Duke of *Burgundy*, that bloody Man, who committed so many Ravages and Murders in *France*, who butcher'd the first Prince of the Blood, and was the Author of so much publick Confusion and Desolation, set out with a Pretence of Zeal against Taxes. That Pretence gained him high Popularity, that Popularity enabled him to ruin *France*, which for many Years he made a Scene of Blood and Misery. It is needless to add, that though the publick Good, *Patriotism*, filled his Mouth, yet nothing in Reality prompted him but flaming Ambition, and Revenge against the Duke of *Orleans* for personal Indignities.

When

When the Multitude are once gained and inflamed by any Chief, they are easily incited to what they at first never intended; and to follow him blindly and furiously; though their Passions and Views be all the while quite different from his. His Business is to make them believe (nor is it a hard Task) that he has no Design or Interest but theirs, till at last they sacrifice all for his Interest against their own. For they therefore believe him a *Patriot*, because they see him angry and opposing; a very false Rule to judge by; but the Populace seldom have any Truer.

Is the most righteous Administration ever free from Opposition, or the most virtuous Minister from Reproach? I wish they were; but cannot recollect that ever they were. *Cicero* was banished his Country for having saved it, and the worst Man in *Rome* had Popularity enough to ruin the best. Even *Catiline* was a strenuous Opposer of Power, boldly charged the Government with Oppression; assumed the Airs and Language of a *Patriot*, and expressed great Zeal for Liberty; so did his execrable Gang and Followers. They were all Opposers, all Patriots. Was the Lord *Chancellor Clarendon*, that good *English-Man* and uncorrupt Minister, protected by the Integrity of his Administration and the Cleanness of his Hands against Calumny and Opposers? So far otherwise, that with all his Services and Innocence, he fell a Sacrifice to those Opposers, who having afterwards engrossed to themselves the Power, which by their wicked Arts and Lies he had lost, made it soon effectually appear, by their abandoned Measures, by their

Rapaciousness and Schemes of publick Servitude, how naturally they had hated and opposed a Minister so unlike themselves. Yet bad as they were, and good as he was, they had succeeded in rendering him unpopular; for they spared no sort of popular Falshoods and Aspersions to make him odious. But all their Fury, all their Falsifications and wicked Arts would have availed nothing, if the King, equally vicious and ungrateful, had not basely given up his old and faithful Counsellor, who had been too good a Subject to please so bad a Master.

Did Lord Chancellor *Somers*, did the Lord Treasurer *Godolphin*, with all their Virtues and Abilities, with all their publick Spirit, with all the Integrity and Success of their Administration, escape Reproach and Opposition? So far otherwise, that they were most virulently assaulted and vilified, one of them impeached, both of them exposed in Libels to the Mob, and both forced to retire.

Were not the worst Men in the three Kingdoms, such as bigotted Papists, such as Highland Savages, with the Persecutors, the Perjured, the Assassins, and every Assertor of Slavery, the constant Enemies and Opposers of King *William*, and of every other good and legal Prince ever since?

Who chiefly composed the famous *French* League? Who were the bitter and constant Enemies of that brave and able Prince, *Henry* the Fourth of *France*? Were they not the blind and furious *Herd*, animated and led by Rebels, Persecutors and publick Incendiaries, Enemies to Law and Peace, Men bribed by  
foreign



foreign Gold to deliver up their Country to *Spain*, though the Interest and Glory of *France* all the while filled their Mouths, and they assumed to be the only Patriots?

What follows then? Is all Opposition to be discouraged and abolished? God forbid. Let Oppression and Oppressors, and every unjust Administration be for ever opposed. But where the Laws rule, where Liberty flourishes, and where a legal Administration prevails, *General Opposition* ought to be out of Countenance and cease. When under such a Situation, the Opposition continues constant and furious, all good, all calm and disinterested Men will condemn it; even the Vulgar will at last cease to mind it, and they who are the Authors of it will make but an ill Figure with Posterity. It may flourish amongst the Multitude for a while, but in Time it will lose its Force, and at last grow contemptible, or be forgot.

Amongst the many Instances of the notorious Partiality, groundless Accusations and false Patriotism in the Reign of King *William*, there could not be a more Signal Instance than that of the Impeachment of the *four Lords*, in which the Impeachers silently passed over Lord *J — y*, Sir *S — n F — x*, and Sir *E — d S — r*, tho' all equally embarked in the same Measures, for which these four Lords were impeached. But Lord *J — y* and the two Commons were spared because they were of the *same Party* with the Impeachers. *Burnet*, speaking of this Impeachment, says, "The Violence, as well as the Folly of the Party, lost them much Ground

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“ with all indifferent Men, but with none  
 “ more than with the King himself, who  
 “ found his Error in changing his Ministry at  
 “ so critical a Time; and he now saw that  
 “ the Tories were at Heart irreconcilable to  
 “ him.”

Against whom was the Cry ever louder than  
 against the late excellent Lord *Godolphin*?  
 Against whom were more Libels published?  
 Was ever Minister more bitterly traduced ei-  
 ther from the Press or the Pulpit? But it is  
 now the best Lot of these his Libellers and De-  
 famers, that they are for the most Part forgot,  
 or only mentioned and remembered to be de-  
 tested or despised. Yet they were popular in  
 their Day, had Weight with the People, and  
 they were thought the Assertors of Patriotism.

It requires but a small Degree of Sagacity  
 to distinguish between publick Zeal and pri-  
 vate Passion, however the latter may assume the  
 Name of the former; and in an Opposition  
 which *continually* rages, it will easily be seen  
 that it is *Men* and not *Measures* that give the  
 real Offence, especially when the Opposers have  
 themselves formerly approved and promoted  
 the very same Measures which they afterwards  
 oppose. When Men act this inconsistent Part,  
 a very plain Understanding will find out the  
 true Cause of such different Conduct. Sophi-  
 stry and Explanations will not do; it will still  
 be remembered that this *new Love* for our Coun-  
 try did not appear at least in the same Light,  
 till we were first grown very *Angry* at particu-  
 lar Men, and that such Publick Spirit seems  
 to rise out of private Resentment.

An eminent Tory-Earl now dead, who had carried Prerogative and the Laws of Treason so high in the latter End of King *Charles's* Reign, when Laws and Parliaments were laid aside, and who was even Council against *Algernon Sidney*, and in other bloody Tryals; became after the Revolution a great Restrainer of the King's Prerogative, and was then for so limiting the Laws of Treason, as even to make Treason itself safe. In Queen *Anne's* Reign he returned again to his old Zeal for the Prerogative. Such different Lights have the same Men in different Situations, and, consequently, in different Humours; yet still, whenever they are out of *Humour*, they are *Patriots*.

I wonder why Gentlemen, who violently dislike Ministers, would ever be Ministers (as some of them have been, and perhaps are not utterly bent against being so for the Time to come) or why they did not, when they were so, propose these generous Plans of Reformation, which they are so ready to offer when they are not Ministers, and consequently have not the same Power and Opportunity of accomplishing. Would it not seem to follow that they then thought the same either unnecessary or impracticable. And if they thought so then, is it not very unfair to expect from Ministers in Place what they themselves, when there, found needless or impossible? And is it not very wicked to rail at them for not performing Impossibilities.

Another Inconsistency, no less flagrant, has been, their continual Outcry against Corruption at Elections, and their continual Practice of it. If they could do without it, why did they practise



practise it? If it was inevitable, why did they rail at it? Or was it Right in them, and in all others Criminal? This likewise puts me in mind of the Outcry against the Corruption of Boroughs in former Reigns, when they, who were the loudest in that Cry, were openly guilty of the most dangerous Corruption with relation to Boroughs, and to all Elections in general: For, when under this Pretence they had voted any Man out of Parliament, whom they did not like there, they shamefully postponed ordering the Writ for a new Election, as often as they apprehended that the same or any other Person equally out of their Favour, would be chosen there.

General Complaints against publick Mismanagement and Male-administration are easily made, and therefore very common even in the best of Times. The late Earl of *Godolphin* was charged with not having accounted to the Publick for above Thirty Five Millions of publick Money, tho' by the publick Accounts it appeared that he had fairly applied every Shilling; yet such was the Bitterness and Dishonesty of Party and his Enemies, that he was branded to the Nation in a Vote of the House of Commons with the above false and monstrous Calumny, which at least for a while was by the greatest Part of the Nation believed, as a Proof of the notorious Injustice and Fury, as well as the blind Credulity of Party. Yet these his Enemies set up for rescuing their Country from Rapine and Misrule, and had raised a Cry that the Nation and the Church were just Sinking, that the former Ministry had been Corrupters of the Legislature, Betrayers

trayers of their Trust, and Enemies to their Country; that they were odious to God and Man, and Heaven and Earth had conspired to overthrow them, that Room might be made for their Opposers, who had no View but to purify and save.

Long before this, the same Party, on Design to blacken the Government of King *William*, accused the Earl of *Ravelaugh*, Paymaster of the Army, &c. of having misapplied One and Twenty Millions. It was confidently said, that some Millions of that Money had been sent to *Holland*, great Sums given to Favourites, and greater to bribe Members of Parliament. Yet to the Shame, tho' not to the Silence of Party, he accounted fairly for the Application of the Whole. His great Employment was indeed his greatest Guilt; he lost that Employment, and a virtuous and eloquent Patriot condescended to take one half of it, tho' he was wont to declare that Places and Integrity were inconsistent Things. There were more Clamours about other Accounts in that Reign, all raised by the Tories and Malcontents, and all as clearly refuted upon a full and fair Examination by the Lords.

Great and loud were the Complaints made in the Queen's Time against the Management of the Admiralty, and perhaps some of them well grounded, tho' such good Grounds were by no Means the principal Cause of raising them. For, the Tories, who were extremely vigorous in supporting and spreading them, cooled all on a sudden, and quite dropped them, as soon as they came to apprehend that such Complaints would probably end in restoring the  
Lord

Lord Orford, (whom they hated) to the Dissection of the Admiralty again. By such virtuous Motives and publick Spirit were these Patriots actuated in raising those Complaints, and in dropping them. Such indeed was their Candour, that, tho' it appeared that the Ministers were no ways chargeable with any Mismanagements in the Admiralty, but that on the contrary they had endeavoured to cure or prevent them, yet the Tories and their Associates were for directly charging the Ministers and Cabinet Council. Was it not downright *Drology*, or rather *Profaneness*, to call such Conduct and Opposition by the Honourable Name of *Patriotism*?

Party has neither Honour nor Mercy, else general Charges against Ministers would not be thus made at Random; but it is usual for all Malecontents to rail at the Times, and at Ministers, as the Authors of such Times. In the Mouth of every Man who is angry at the Government, the Nation is ruined; and this is the Stile of all such Men at all Times. Remarkable were the Words of Sir *E——d S——r* in the House of Commons many Years ago: "In short, Mr. *Speaker*, this Nation is "undone, *Scotland* is discontented, *Ireland* "granted away, and the *West Indies* a Nest of "Pirates." When afterwards he had got an Employment, the Face of our Affairs did not appear to him so desperate, nor did he complain of the Times, tho' the Times were not changed, whatever he himself were.

Let us always be ready to punish Guilt in Ministers; this is but Reasonable; but it is neither reasonable nor just to presume Guilt without



without Proof; this would only be a Proof of Malice; and any other Proof than this, the Patriots have not produced against the present Ministers. *Burnet* observes truly enough, that every Cry "against a Minister is apt to be well entertained: Some envy him, others are angry at him: Many hope to share in the Spoils of him, or of his Friends that fall with him; and a Love of Change and a Wantonness of Mind makes the attacking a Minister a Diversion to the rest." Lord *Somers*, one of the ablest and worthiest Ministers that ever this or any Nation produced, was in the Bitterness and Extravagance of Faction accused, even as a Confederate and Sharer with *Kid*, an infamous *Pirate* and *Robber*, accused of it even in the House of Commons; and it was urged there as a Reason why he should be dismissed from his Employment. "Such black Constructions are Men who are engaged in Parties apt to make of the Actions of those whom they intend to disgrace, even against their own Consciences," says *Burnet*. Did such wicked, such bitter Usage of Lord *Somers* arise from a Spirit of Patriotism? Was it not rather the Effect of the foulest and most desperate Malice, the Rage of Party, and the Madness of Opposition, so destructive of all Candour and Truth, and consequently of all Patriotism?

Nothing is more commonly said, than that all Parties are now united, and that there are no *Jacobites* amongst us. I doubt this is as little as the rest a Proof of Patriotism. If I were a *Jacobite* I should certainly promote this Opinion, and labour to have it believed by

those who are no *Jacobites*; since there cannot be a more artful or more certain Expedient to make *Jacobitism* triumph, than to extinguish the Fears of *Jacobitism*; for where there is no Fear, there will be no Precaution. In *Oliver's* Time it grew the Policy of the *Cavaliers* to profess themselves *Republicans*; they were all for a *Commonwealth*, and hardly any of them would own himself for *Charles Stuart*, unless in their Fits of Drinking and Indiscretion. To persuade us that we are all of a Party, is only an *Artifice* of Party, and of the warmest Party-men, as the best Way of raising their own Party. As to their Distinction between a Court-party and a Country-party, 'tis a Distinction as old as Men and Government, and will last as long; and as there are certainly Men who love their Country, there are certainly others, whose Concern for the Publick begins from themselves, and their Country is always in Danger when they are neglected.

That there were no *Jacobites*, was an Opinion carefully promoted in *Queen Anne's* Time, till she saw the Pretender actually attempt to land and dethrone her; and then she was much alarmed, and saw with what Falshood she had been abused, by those who pretended to assure her, that there was not a *Jacobite* in the Nation. This too had been a main Artifice and Argument used to King *William*, to make him part with his *Whig* Ministry, and take in *Tories*. He soon found the Falshood of that Assertion, and the Misfortune of the Change. " They had continued, says *Burnet*, " from his first Accession to the Throne in a " constant Opposition to his Interests. Many " were

“ were believed to be *Jacobites* in their  
 “ Hearts; and they were generally much a-  
 “ gainst the Toleration, and violent Enemies  
 “ to the Dissenters. They had been backward  
 “ in every Thing that was necessary for car-  
 “ rying on the former War. They had op-  
 “ posed Taxes as much as they could, and  
 “ were against all such Taxes as were easily le-  
 “ vied, and less sensibly felt by the People,  
 “ and were always for those that were most  
 “ grievous to the Nation, hoping that by these  
 “ heavy Burdens the People would grow weary  
 “ of the War and of the Government.” Was  
 this Conduct, were these Motives of their Op-  
 position any Marks of *Patriotism*?

I would by no Means assert, or even sug-  
 gest, that publick Spirit arises from private  
 Pique, or any idle narrow Passion; but I will  
 venture to say, that private Passion often calls  
 itself publick Spirit; and that very selfish and  
 very foolish Men call themselves Patriots, and  
 traduce others, much wiser and better than  
 themselves, as Enemies to their Country. I  
 doubt not but some oppose a just Administra-  
 tion from good Motives and a well meaning  
 Intention; but I will venture to say, that ma-  
 ny others concur with them upon low and con-  
 temptible Inducements, and with a View to  
 their own Interest only, Patriots for themselves,  
 and publick-spirited for private Ends. It was  
 impossible for me to hate the late Lord C--p--r,  
 even when he opposed what I approved; but  
 I could not love the late Duke of W—,  
 even when his publick Conduct concurred with  
 my private Opinion; for I could not help con-  
 sidering



considering the *Heart* and the *Character* of the one and the other.

As to the present Situation of Liberty, and the Condition of our Government; I thank God I can find more Causes of Comfort than of Fear or Despair. For those who despair, (if there be any of those) they are either such as grieve that they cannot change it, (for I will still presume to suppose what all Men know or may know, that there are *Jacobites* in the three Kingdoms) or they are such as take up their Note and Passion implicitly, and are afraid, because others bid them fear; or they are such, who having long indulged Anger and Spleen, see nothing but what is gloomy, portentous, and fearful. Others of more Penetration and clearer Apprehension, though they may join in the Cry of Danger, and promote it, may be presumed not to be greatly in earnest, though they may think it expedient to seem so. This is a Latitude which Great Men, the Leaders of Parties, generally allow themselves, to act the Part most conducing to their Ends, by assuming Passions which they do not much feel, in order to hide Passions which they really possess.

Was Liberty ever so largely and so equally diffused amongst all Orders of Men, in any Country as 'tis here, and now? Was it ever so powerfully felt and prevailing in former Reigns, or in any Commonwealth past or present? Whence then can come its Danger, if it has been continually increasing? I hope not from Licentiousness, that is from being too great, and therefore greatly abused. This would be dangerous indeed, dangerous to Liberty

erty itself, since Liberty has been often betray'd by turning it into Wantonness, and by carrying it beyond such Bounds as Liberty itself, in order to last, will always want.

Such Danger cannot arise from the Nature of our Constitution, the best framed of any upon Earth to create and preserve Liberty, unless it can be shewn, that the Balance of the Legislature is broken, and one Part Master of the other; as when the Parliament set aside the King, or when the King laid aside Parliaments. These Parts are now in perfect Union, the King in Possession of the Prerogative without stretching or abusing it, and every Member free to vote as he pleases. It is not pretended that the Parliament is too powerful for the Crown; and I cannot see that the Crown is too powerful for the Parliament. I cannot conceive that a certain annual Addition to the Civil List, which in the late Reigns was always wanting occasional Additions, equal upon the whole to the present standing Addition, can shake or threaten the Liberties of three great Nations born to Liberty and passionate for it; and I am the more assured and confirmed in this my Opinion, because I do not recollect, that above one Man in the House of Commons, and that any Man in the House of Lords, opposed the Establishment of the present Civil List. Had it then been reckoned exorbitant, and the Prelude and Means to Bondage, every *good Patriot* would have opposed it.

Neither can I see any Danger to Liberty from the Characters of those employ'd in the Administration. I see them do no arbitrary  
Actions;

Actions; I see them countenance no slavish Principles; I see them engaged in no desperate Measures; I see them supported by Men of as great Probity and Fortune, of as great Abilities and Independency as any in the three Kingdoms, Men as remarkable for their Love of Liberty and the Constitution, Men who abhor Slavery and all the Ways of it, and would scorn to be Slaves, or to suffer others to be so, and are therefore good *Patriots*, in Spite of Slander and all Suggestions to the contrary. Nor is any Man less a Patriot for keeping an Employment in a Ministry which he approves, than he who dislikes the Ministry, because he has not an Employment, if there be any such Man. Neither can any Thing more shew the Passion and Partiality of any Man whatsoever, than to believe and suggest what we hear often suggested, that all Places are infectious, all Place-Men criminal.

Can Government exist without Places, and Men to fill them? Or do Men ever reason thus but in their Anger? And do they ever once reason thus, when they and their Friends are in Place? It is therefore very great Rudeness and Calumny, and a Sort of Phrensy, thus to traduce Men in Place, because they are in Place. Though such Calumny may be principally intended for *one Man*, it is in Effect thrown at every Man who concurs with him in his Measures, since if he and his Measures be wicked, so are they who concur with him in them, as many of the best Men and greatest Subjects do. Let it therefore be consider'd how extensive and daring such Calumny is.

There



There is a certain common Proposition very much abused for want of being explained and understood, *That whatever has Power to save a Nation, has likewise Power to destroy it*; which is true, when it is meant of one Man or a few Men invested with sovereign Power. It is true of despotick Princes who rule by meer Will, and by Armies depending upon their Will. But it is not true of a Nation preserving itself by Laws of its own making, and Power of its own keeping, or its own limiting, and by an Army which it pays, and can, when it will, dismiss. Such a Nation, and the numerous Representatives of such a Nation, can no more destroy themselves, than we can suppose that any Individual will destroy himself, which none do but such as are first mad.

Whoever is trusted with the publick Protection, must be trusted with the Power of Protecting; and whatever hath Power to govern and protect the Whole; that is, whoever have both the legislative and executive Power, may certainly turn it to Evil as well as to Good, to oppress as well as to protect. Yet it doth not from hence follow, that it will always be so abused and perverted, otherwise all Governments, every where, even the freest that exist or can be framed, would be as bad as the worst and most violent; since all Governments have equal Power, that is Power unlimited, else they could not be called Governments, which, in order to subsist and answer the Ends of Society, must be absolute over the governed. But the Security, or the want of Security, Liberty or Slavery, arises from the Manner of placing this Power, equally supreme in all perfect

perfect Governments. Our Monarchy, and every Part of the Legislature, is limited; but the Legislature entire is unlimited, and its Power as ample and extensive as that of the Great *Turk*, over the Lives, Persons, and Properties of Men. The great Difference is, that we have numerous Representatives and Legislators, who are themselves Parties and Sharers in whatever they wisely or weakly establish and ordain for the Whole. This is the best and only Caution Men can have that their Governors do not abuse and oppress them. Whereas the Great *Turk*, being himself the State and Representative of the State, and there being no Restraint to check his worst Passions and Follies, no certain Security, and no Sort of regular Liberty can ever be expected from his Government.

This therefore is an Objection against Government itself in any Shape, that *being able to save implies an Ability to destroy*, since every Government must have such Ability; but no Government well modelled can ever have such Inclination. Where the Legislators are numerous and interested in the Preservation of the Whole, they will for their own Sakes preserve the Whole. Some of them may be weak, some corrupt, all of them may possibly be mistaken; but it is not probable they will sacrifice themselves by sacrificing their own and publick Liberty. There may be an Exception or two to this Rule; but a few Exceptions rather strengthen than weaken general Rules.

To conclude this Head, supreme Power does and must, always and every where, infer *all Power*, with the *absolute* Direction, Application

cation and Delegation of that Power, and ever happiest is that Country and those People, where it is most naturally distributed and balanced, where the Governing and the Governed are equally interested in the Preservation of each other.

But this is a Subject which I shall probably treat of more fully, in another Paper hereafter.

I now proceed to some Observations and Advice concerning Party-Writings.

One particular Consideration should accompany all the Actions of Men, namely, *that they be moral*; especially where such Actions affect others; more especially if they affect many; above all, if they affect *Society in general*. And as all Writings which are addressed to the Publick do so; it is greatly incumbent upon the Writers, and their Duty, as honest Men, and good Citizens, to take strict Care that what they write be honest and fair, as well as useful and important. This is the Purpose, this the Morality of writing, and all Men of good Minds will religiously observe it; if they do not, they are most certainly no Patriots.

This Rule, which must be allowed a just one, is too little regarded, commonly quite neglected or violated, as in many Instances, so particularly in Party-writings, which instead of doing publick Good and instructing the People, too often mislead them, misrepresent Men, falsify Things, and do popular Injustice and Mischief. Indeed, during the Strife of two Parties, it is almost impossible to meddle with either, and yet please both, The very Word

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implies Partiality in Substance as well as in Sound. If you say that they are both wrong, even where they are most apparently so, you offend both: If you vindicate one, though upon the best Grounds, you disoblige the other. For Reason and Truth are not the Rules by which they judge of each other. Those whom we wish to be always in the Wrong, we are ready to think always in the Wrong, and therefore are not very willing to own them in the Right, even when they are in the Right. When therefore this Party-spirit prevails, which is often raised and spread by Immoral and Party-writings, it is a difficult and perhaps an unacceptable Task to attempt to restore mutual Peace and Charity, with the Exercise of calm Reason and the Love of Truth, though it be a Task worthy of a *real Patriot*.

Party is apt to raise the Passions, and to keep them continually awake; and when Men are in a Heat, they are not so well qualified to reason as to rail; and thence it is that Party-writings are generally fierce, spiteful, full of Misrepresentations and false Characters, framed not to convince Opponents, but to mortify and provoke them; not to inform the People, but to incense and frighten them. What can be more Immoral than this? What more dishonest and indeed contemptible, when their whole or chief Merit consists in propagating Falshood and Injustice, in raising false Alarms and abusing popular Credulity? It is therefore no wonder that such Writings, though they may prevail and be popular for a while, sink into Oblivion as soon as the Uproar which raised them, or which they raised, is over.

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Who now reads, or even knows *Lestranger's Observators*, or *Defoe's Reviews*, or *Leslie's Rehearsals*, or the *Examiners*, with a Shoal of other Writings, all of much Noise and some Esteem in their Day? I dare say that many of the present Generation never heard of their Names. As they were solely confined to Party and Party-quarrels, and allied only to the Squabble of the Times, they perished with Time and with Party-heats. Though People be partial to such Writings for a Time, when their Passions are a-float, and when they have marked out particular Men as their Darlings or their Aversion, they generally do them Justice at last; and both false Invective and false Panegyrick die with the Persons on whom they were bestowed, frequently before them.

Who now reviles the late *Lord Godolphin* as a *Volpone*, a *double Dealer*, and a *Traitor to the Church*? Who daubs and extolls the late *Duke of Ormond* as the *Ornament and Support of the Church*? Yet who was once more abused and libelled than *Lord Godolphin*? Who more magnified or even idolized than the *Duke of Ormond*? But who now admires or reads, or so much as knows any of the many Libels upon the former, or any of the many Panegyricks upon the latter? All Parties at present agree to praise the late *Lord Godolphin*. Thus when the Rage of Faction is extinct, Truth takes Place, and Justice, though slow, prevails at last.

We have a later Instance, indeed a modern one now before our Eyes, how transient is the Nature of personal Politicks and Invective. Who was more the Butt of Satire and Abuse

than a certain *noble Lord (now retired)* for a Course of Years, whilst he was guilty of holding a great Station in the Government, and supposed to influence the Cabinet? He was all that while represented either as a contemptible Minister, or a terrible Bl--d-r-r, and no Name no Fate was deemed too bad for him: But the Moment his Influence was thought to decline, his Faults grew fewer; ever since he resigned, he has had no Faults at all, and the Satire which so long and so furiously haunted him, has been for a great while, and still continues utterly dumb. If he was really a criminal Minister, he ought still to be answerable for his Crimes, and if it had been publick Spirit only that attacked him, publick Spirit, which makes no Truce with Crimes, would still pursue him. But as publick Spirit abuses not Persons, so it excuses not Crimes. By this Rule let it be judged, whether that noble Person was once so sorely libelled for Male-administration only, and whether his present Immunity from Satire be not a Presumption, either that his Employment was more Guilty than he, or that it was not Guilt that raised him Enemies, or that these Enemies were not Enemies to Guilt alone. Can there be a plainer Proof how widely *Opposition* differs from Patriotism? I know *another great Person*, who, though greatly Guilty, and decried for persevering in Place, would soon grow as Innocent as the other, and as free from Crimes and Abuse, if he would but follow the Example of the other.

Writings which meddle with the Publick, should go upon a Foundation and Principle as wide  
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wide and diffusive as the Publick. Men of Sense will never believe, that Writings which descend to Spite and Personalities, can be disinterested or candid, or pursue publick Good only. Publick Spirit considers nothing but what has Relation to the Publick; and 'tis needless and ridiculous to enter into Personalities, where a Man's publick Actions are sufficient to condemn him. If the Punishment of publick Guilt be all that is aimed at, why should we fall upon his Person or private Affairs, which bear no Relation to the Publick?

It is indeed a strong Presumption, when a Man's private Character is attacked, that his publick Character is innocent. No just Judge, distinguished either by good Understanding or good Breeding, ever treated the greatest Criminal with Rage or bitter Words: Nor does any wise and polite Man deal in such on any Occasion: Nor is it at all needful to those who attend only to Facts, and the Proofs of Guilt or Innocence.

What else is the Reason that low and ignorant Writers are generally abusive, but that they want Matter and Manners? Besides, the Road of Abuse is so common, and so easy, that it requires no Genius, or any one good Quality or Accomplishment to pursue it. Any Creature that can speak, can lie and call Names; and the lowest, the most foolish, and most vicious of our Race, excel most in it.

The *Morality of Writing* ought to be consider'd and attended to by all who write, in whatever they write, that their Writings be true, candid, and useful; that they treat others

as they would have others treat them; and that for every Proposition which they advance, for every Conclusion or Character which they draw, they can answer to God, to the World, and to their own Conscience.

If this reasonable Rule, of the *Morality of Writings*, were observed, how much Good would it produce, how much Evil prevent? It would certainly bring great Quiet to the Publick, and to Particulars, and greatly promote Peace, Charity, and Honesty. Nothing can be more dishonest or more cowardly, than for a Man to sit safely and covertly in his Closet, and from thence, as from a Citadel, assault the tender Characters of Men with vile Slander and Aspersions, whether he do it by Descriptions, Innuendo's, false Parallels, or any other Way. The World is prone to censure, and to believe Evil of the best and most innocent Men, whenever it is charged upon them by the worst; and he must be the wickedest of all Creatures, who scatters Reproaches to hurt the Harmless, and charges any Man whomsoever with any unjust Imputations whatsoever. It is still an Aggravation of such Wickedness, when by it publick Uproar and Discontents are raised, and the People are inflamed and terrified by a Torrent of Slander and Calumnies cast upon their Governors. *True Patriotism* abhors all this, and were it attended to, would cure it.

There is a natural Rectitude in the Mind of an honest Man, a Love of Justice and Truth, and an Abhorrence of whatever is unrighteous and untrue. And the same Honesty of Heart which determines a Man to be just

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in his private Dealings, will influence and direct his publick Conduct, and he will be full as tender of injuring the Character, and misrepresenting the Actions of *publick Men*, as those of his *private Neighbours*.

This Rule cannot but be useful and agreeable to all who study to write like true *Patriots*, divested of Passion and of Party-Spirit, and by this Rule let the Patriotism of Writers (Writers on both Sides) be tried. I have lately seen a Pamphlet written with such good Breeding and Coolness, as well as with such excellent Sense and Fairness, that I hope all our Writers will endeavour to imitate it. It is called, *Some Considerations concerning the Publick Funds, the Publick Revenues, and the Annual Supplies, granted by Parliament*.



F I N I S.